

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /016 R

66611

DRAFTED BY: EUR/RPM:JMADDEN

APPROVED BY: EUR/JGLOWENSTEIN

S/S:APSHANKLE

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R 191930Z JUL 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 168188

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 168188 ACTION NATO INFO MOSCOW
17 JULY.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 168188

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, UR

SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO EUROPE

REFERENCE: USNATO 3636

1. YOU MAY BRIEF NAC AS FOLLOWS ON THE SECRETARY'S
MEETING WITH GROMYKO IN GENEVA JULY 10-11.

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2. THIS MEETING HAD BEEN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE WHEN THE
SECRETARY MET GROMYKO IN VIENNA LAST MAY. AT THAT TIME, IT
WAS THOUGHT DESIRABLE TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THE EVENT, THIS SUBJECT

WAS ONLY DISCUSSED ON THE SECOND DAY, WITH IMMEDIATE TACTICAL MATTERS RELATING TO CSCE TAKING UP A GOOD DEAL OF THE SEVEN HOURS OF MEETINGS AND DINNER THE FIRST DAY. SALT WAS ALSO REVIEWED ON JULY 10. CSCE AGAIN CAME UP SEVERAL TIMES ON JULY 11.

3. THE COUNCIL WILL APPRECIATE THAT A GOOD DEAL OF THE CSCE

DISCUSSION WAS GEARED TO MINUTE-BY-MINUTE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE CONFERENCE AND CONSEQUENTLY HAS LITTLE LASTING SIGNIFICANCE. IT RELATED CHIEFLY TO HOW TO DEAL WITH, FIRST, THE DELAYING TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE MALTESE AND THEN WITH THE LATTER'S PROPOSAL CONCERNING ARMS REDUCTIONS IN THE

MEDITERRANEAN. GROMYKO THROUGHOUT REFLECTED SOVIET IMPATIENCE WITH MALTESE TACTICS AND A DESIRE TO PROCEED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE DATE FOR THE OPENING OF STAGE THREE. AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING THE DISCUSSIONS DEPUTY MINISTER KOVALEV AND AMBASSADOR SHERER WERE CALLED IN FOR PROGRESS REPORTS. AMBASSADOR SHERER WAS INSTRUCTED TO KEEP THE NATO CAUCUS INFORMED.

4. DURING THE EVENING OF JULY 10, THE SOVIETS SOUGHT TO ENLIST THE SECRETARY'S SUPPORT FOR BREAKING THE IMPASSE BY THE QUOTE CONSENSUS MINUS ONE UNQUOTE APPROACH. THE SECRETARY DECLINED TO DO SO THEN AND THERE, IN PART BECAUSE SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD HAVE HAD TO HAVE THE ENDORSE-

MENT OF OUR ALLIES. MORE BASICALLY, HOWEVER, THE SECRETARY FELT THAT HOWEVER DEPLORABLE AND DISMAYING THE TACTICS OF THE MALTESE, ANY DECISION TO CIRCUMVENT THE BASIC CONSENSUS RULE OF THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED WITH UTMOST CARE. IT RAISED NOT ONLY THE QUESTION OF STYLE BUT ALSO AN ISSUE OF PRINCIPLE WITH SERIOUS PRECEDENTIAL IMPLICATIONS. THE SECRETARY THUS INFORMED GROMYKO THAT HE COULD NOT GO ALONG WITH QUOTE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY UNQUOTE TACTICS TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK. CONFIDENTIAL

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5. DURING THE DISCUSSIONS THERE ALSO WAS CONSIDERATION OF A DIRECT APPROACH TO MINTOFF BY THE SECRETARY BUT THIS WAS JUDGED BY HIM LIKELY TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. WHEN THE NEW MALTESE FORMULA BECAME KNOWN ON JULY 11, GROMYKO PROMPTLY INDICATED SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF IT, OBSERVING THAT HE ATTACHED NO PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE TO IT. HE INDICATED IT WOULD NOT BE THE BASIS FOR ANY SUBSEQUENT SOVIET SCHEMES FOR MEDITERRANEAN QUOTE SECURITY UNQUOTE. THE SECRETARY INDICATED THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES. THE MATTER WAS LEFT THAT WAY WHEN THE MEETINGS ADJOURNED AFTER LUNCH AND WAS OF COURSE SUBSEQUENTLY RESOLVED IN THE CONFERENCE.

6. THERE WERE NO OTHER SUBSTANTIVE CSCE DISCUSSIONS. GROMYKO INDICATED SOVIET APPROVAL OF THE IDEA OF AN ESSENTIALLY 2-1/2 DAY DURATION FOR STAGE THREE.

7. ON SALT WE CONTINUED OUR DISCUSSIONS OF THE DIFFICULT ISSUES OF VERIFICATION, CRUISE MISSILES, AND LIMITING INCREASES IN SILO DIMENSIONS AND MISSILE SIZE. WE BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO HAVE A SALT DISCUSSION IN THE NAC WHEN PROSPECTS BECOME

CLEARER. WE ALSO EXPECT TO CONSULT ON THE PNE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE WAS A USEFUL EXCHANGE ON THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING SITUATION AND ON HOW THE GENEVA CONFERENCE MIGHT BE MANAGED WHEN IT IS RECONVENED. GROMYKO MADE NO EFFORT TO PUSH US TO SET A DATE FOR GENEVA. IT WAS GENERALLY ACCEPTED THAT WHATEVER HAPPENS IN THE CURRENT EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI EFFORT, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO RECONVENE GENEVA. IF THERE IS ANOTHER INTERIM AGREEMENT, GENEVA WILL BE NECESSARY TO INVOLVE THE OTHER NEGOTIATING FRONTS. IF THE EFFORT FAILS, GENEVA WILL BE NECESSARY AS A MEANS OF REDUCING THE PRESSURES THAT WOULD RESULT FROM A COMPLETE STALEMATE. IN RESPONSE TO THE US EXPRESSION OF CONCERN THAT THE PLO REPRESENTATION ISSUE COULD STALEMATE THE CONFERENCE AT THE OUTSET, GROMYKO SAID THE SOVIETS WILL ACCEPT WHATEVER CONFIDENTIAL

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ARRANGEMENT THE ARABS DECIDE ON.

9. THERE WAS NO TIME TO DISCUSS ANY OTHER SUBJECTS IN DETAIL.

10. IN GENERAL THE MEETINGS PROCEEDED IN QUITE A FRIENDLY MANNER. IN FACT, GROMYKO SEEMED MORE MELLOW THAN ON OTHER OCCASIONS, POSSIBLY BECAUSE HE WAS EAGER TO GET CSCE SETTLED. THE SOVIETS MIGHT ALSO BE CONCERNED ABOUT PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN THE US AND ELSEWHERE REFLECTING SKEPTICISM ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO DETENTE. WE EXPECT THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL MEET BILATERALLY WITH BREZHNEV DURING THE HELSINKI MEETING, PRINCIPALLY TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF SALT ISSUES. WE STILL EXPECT A BREZHNEV VISIT IN THE FALL BUT NO PRECISE DATE HAS BEEN FIXED. KISSINGER
UNQUOTE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MINISTERIAL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE168188
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:JMADDEN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750250-0908
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507105/baaaapml.tel
Line Count: 159
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <15 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 971014
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, PFOR, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH), (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: ALL NATO CAPITALS
SALT TWO GENEVA
GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006